A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLES

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Illustrated History of Eighteenth-Century Britain

A History of the British Isles

Jeremy Black

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To Timothy

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Preface

In some respects this has been the most interesting and most difficult book that I have attempted. Most interesting because I have had to read so widely, most difficult because of the discipline of writing in accordance with particular guidelines and to a tight word-limit. What has been discarded in endless redrafting could have made several books, which shows not only the richness and variety of the history of the British Isles, but also the different ways in which it could be approached. Any history inevitably invites suggestions about different approaches, contrasting arguments, divergent conclusions. The history of the British Isles is the history of the English, Irish, Scots and Welsh. Britain itself has a shorter history as a united state and it is important to place due weight on separate and diverse national traditions. Particular emphasis has been placed on the history of Wales, too often subsumed into accounts of English history but an area of great interest because it was the 'Celtic' area most exposed to English pressure and rule. At the risk of anachronism, terms such as England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France and East Anglia are used throughout so that modern readers can better understand the areas they refer to. Britain is generally used to denote England, Wales and Scotland. It is sometimes termed Great Britain. The British Isles is the term used for Britain and Ireland. Ireland refers to the geographical area currently divided between the Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland which is a part of the United Kingdom, the state otherwise comprised of Britain.

This book is dedicated to my son Timothy, but while writing my thoughts have often turned to those who taught me English history, to David Griffiths at Haberdashers', and to Tim Blanning, Martin Brett, Marjorie Chibnall, John Morrill, Jonathan Riley-Smith and John Walter at Cambridge. Many thanks to Paul Hammond, Michael Jones and Kenneth Morgan for letting me quote from their work. I am most grateful to Ian Archer, Stuart Ball, Chris Bartlett, Sarah Black, John Blair, John Bourne, George Boyce, Richard Brown, Duncan Bythell, Tony Carr, P.J. Casey, Rees Davies, John Davis, John Derry, Grayson Ditchfield, Sean Duffy,

Alan Ford, Robin Frame, William Gibson, Ralph Griffiths, Steve Gunn, David Gwynn, Robert Harris, Paul Harvey, Alan Heesom, Philip Jenkins, Gareth Elwyn Jones, J. Gwynfor Jones, John R. Kenyon, Keith Laybourne, David Loades, Alex Murdoch, Jon Parry, Murray Pittock, John Plowright, Bernard Porter, Michael Prestwich, Nigel Ramsay, David Rollason, Nigel Saul, Geoffrey Searle, Peter Shilston, Henry Summerson, Christopher Williams and John Young, for commenting on sections of earlier drafts. I am most grateful for the secretarial assistance of Wendy Duery.

JEREMY BLACK

Introduction

That the past, our past, can be seen in so many different lights adds to its fascination. There is not only the question of what to discuss, but the problem of how best to do so. If it is difficult enough for us to establish the course of history, it is even harder to assess causes. This is particularly a problem with a book of this scale. There is a powerful tendency, when writing a history that stretches over more than two millennia but relatively few pages, to shape the past into patterns and to stress the beneficial nature of the changes that have occurred. This Whiggish approach to British history was particularly dominant in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; it emphasised a Protestant identity for the nation, respect for property, the rule of law and parliamentary sovereignty as a means to secure liberty and order, and a nationalistic self-confidence that combined a patriotic sense of national uniqueness with a xenophobic contempt for foreigners, especially Catholics. The positive contribution of Protestantism and liberty to prosperity and social development was stressed, but a very partial account of the latter was offered, concentrating on the growth of a strong middle class.

In modern academic circles Whig history is apparently dead, displaced by the scholarly developments of the last sixty years. At the popular level, however, traditional history and historical images are still popular, generally reflect Whiggish notions and often have little to do with academic developments. In addition, the academic works that sell best and are most accessible to the general reading public are generally those that are written in a traditional fashion. Biographies and narratives are at a premium. Narrative history is especially popular. This can be seen in child, adolescent, and adult reading patterns, and there is a parallel in literature, where continued popular preferences defy powerful academic literary fashions. The persistent popularity of the detective novel, with its stress on the role of the individuals and chance, and with a strong narrative structure, and, in most cases, its strong

moral element, is especially noteworthy. The genre offers exciting, often exemplary, stories, which are precisely what are sought by most readers of history. In combination, narrative and the Whig approach offer a readily accessible means to produce a clear account of a highly complex subject: human history.

This book, however, seeks to avoid an emphasis on inevitability. It is important to appreciate that choices have always existed, that policy was not pre-ordained by the 'structures' of economic or other circumstances, that contingencies and the views of individuals were of consequence. It is necessary to grasp the uncertainties of the past, the roles of chance and perception; to restore a human perspective to an historical imagination too often dominated by impersonal forces. If this can lead to greater difficulties in posing and answering questions of the relationships between change and continuity, the short term and the long, it is appropriate to point out that history is not an unbroken mirror reflecting our views, but a fractured glass turning in the wind, with pieces missing or opaque and a general pattern that is difficult to distinguish and impossible to do so to general satisfaction.

The selection of central themes is therefore in large part a personal response to the multifaceted nature of the past. Two emerge clearly: first the political relations both between the constituent parts of Britain and between them and the rest of Europe; and secondly the impact of technology. The latter is particularly important and becoming more so. The impact of man on his environment has been far more insistent in the age of industrialisation and urbanisation than hitherto. People no longer have to live by the sweat of their brow; they are more likely to sit in an office, manipulating electronic machinery, whether manufacturing goods or working in the financial or service industries. They do not face starvation if they fall ill. They take longevity, perhaps even prosperity, for granted. People themselves have changed. Inoculations to prevent serious diseases are now universal. Mechanical and chemical contraception has led to the replacement of earlier patterns of sexual activity and procreation. Technical and medical advances have led to the ability effectively to replace parts of the body, such as hips. Much work is currently under way on creating artificial knee joints, a far more complex task. People look different: they are taller than in the past; teeth have been filled or crowned or replaced by dentures; the water is fluoridated. Clothes are made from man-

made or enhanced fibres; food is processed, coloured and preserved as a result of the combination of modern science and mass-production techniques.

These changes are emphasised in the chapter on the twentieth century, but they are, of course, more general, as have been shifts towards a more immediate 'mass culture'. Widespread literacy in the nineteenth century, followed by the spread of new media in the twentieth, led to a dynamic, constantly renewed relationship between the producers and consumers of information and images. This was subversive of earlier means of disseminating and inculcating ideas. A vastly expanded press, and new media such as the television, did not necessarily lead to the spread of radical ideas – they could equally serve to reiterate conservative views – but, by regularly providing information and stimuli, they played a major role in a democratisation or equalisation of society that has been a predominant theme over the last century and a half. In the nineteenth century the newspaper became an accepted means for the pursuance of disputes, possibly contributing to a more peaceful and public means of conducting political, social, economic and religious disagreements. Democratisation was not the same as democracy, publicity did not entail the public nature of all politics, but in the twentieth century the information presented to the public has become more extensive and its impact more insistent. Whereas Edward VIII's relationship with Mrs Simpson (later the Duchess of Windsor) in the 1930s was known only to a restricted circle, the same has not been true of the activities of his grand-nephew, Prince Charles. Politicians today press avidly for equal exposure on television, but there are also worries about privacy.

This book itself is a testimony to changing circumstances. Technology is all-pervasive: the use of a word processor permitted frequent redrafting. There is also the clear sense that it is necessary to produce a work that is accessible to a wide audience. Consumer choice is crucial, and censorship, or the need to follow a 'party line', is not a factor. Indeed, it is the freedom with which this book has been written that is the most encouraging feature of this work. In Britain it is possible to write a book of this type without the problems and fears that an author would experience in much of the world. There is no room for triumphalism: the position may not last. The situation in Northern Ireland scarcely offers encouragement about the use of the past. Nevertheless, it is part of the

strength of much of British society that it can look at itself and its past without complacency or the need to reiterate national myths. Would that that were true more widely.

JEREMY BLACK

ROMAN BRITAIN

• Places

1 London	6 York	11 Inchtuthil
2 Chester	7 Lincoln	13 Halkyn
3 St Albans	8 Wroxeter	14 Dolaucothi
4 Gloucester	9 Colchester	15 Stonehenge
5 Caerleon	10 Exeter	16 Avebury

Areas

A Suffolk	E Wales	I Shropshire
B Kent	F Anglesey	J Hereford
C Cumbria	G Glamorgan	K East Anglia
D Yorkshire	H Clwyd	

- ☐ Legionary fortresses
not all occupied at once

+*****+ Antonine Wall

+*****+ Hadrian's wall

—→ Caesar's invasion route in 55 and 54 BC

--→ Claudius's invasion route in 43 AD

Over 200 m

Over 500 m

ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN

• Places

A	Dorchester-on-Thames	H	London	P	Wexford	Y	Caerleon
B	Carmarthen	I	Southampton	Q	Cork	Z	Degannwy
C	Chester	J	Lindisfarne	R	Armagh	AA	Athelney
D	Canterbury	K	Jarrow	S	Derby	BB	Pevensay
E	Whitby	L	Iona	T	Leicester	CC	South Cadbury
F	York	M	Limerick	U	Bath		
G	Ipswich	N	Dublin	V	Clonmacois		
		O	Waterford	X	Catterick		

Areas

1	Hampshire	13	Cheshire	25	Wirral	37	Wessex
2	Kent	14	Powys	26	Antrim	38	Sheppey
3	Isle of Wight	15	Northumbria	27	Lancashire	39	Thanet
4	Cornwall	16	Strathclyde	28	Munster	40	Gower
5	East Anglia	17	Sussex	29	Leinster	41	Gwent
6	Mercia	18	Lindsey	30	Meath	42	Gwynedd
7	Deira	19	Essex	31	Ulster	43	Ceredigion
8	Bernicia	20	Surrey	32	Lothian	44	Builth
9	Argyll	21	Norfolk	33	Elmet	45	Brycheiniog
10	Cumbria	22	Orkney	34	Rhedeg	46	Glywysing
11	Dyfed	23	Caithness	35	Hwicce	47	Ergyng
12	Gododdin	24	Anglesey	36	Magonsaetan		

□ Battles

1	Stamford Bridge	6	Repton
2	Hastings	7	Edington
3	Maldon	8	Tara
4	Clontarf	9	Wroughton
5	Nechtansmere		

..... Boundary of Mercia in 800

— — Boundary of Northumbria in 650

Boundary of Wessex in 830

----- Kingdom of Scots in 1018

—— Offa's Dyke

MEDIEVAL BRITISH ISLES

• Places

A York	P Camarthen	6 Chester	21 St Asaph
B Durham	Q Bangor	7 Aberystwyth	22 Beaumaris
C Ely	R Tenby	8 Caernarfon	23 St Davids
D Newcastle	S Boston	9 Conwy	24 Llandaff
E Norwich	T Wexford	10 Harlech	25 Roxburgh
F Lincoln	U Waterford	11 Denbigh	26 Hadleigh
G Stamford	V Dublin	12 Berwick	27 Long Melford
H Carlisle	W Carrickfergus	13 Edinburgh	28 Holt
I Kendal	X Dundalk	14 Glasgow	29 Rhuddlan
J Canterbury	Y Coleraine	15 Perth	30 Lavenham
K Winchester	Z Newry	16 Elgin	31 Degannwy
L Dorchester-on-Thames	1 Athlone	17 Inverness	32 Hawarden
M Tintern	2 Kildare	18 Cambridge	
N Peterborough	3 Dover	19 Great Yarmouth	
O Shrewsbury	4 Montgomery	20 Builth	
	5 Flint		

Regions

A Cheshire	L Antrim	W Hampshire	8 Thomond
B Anglesey	M Sussex	X Herefordshire	9 Powys
C Galloway	N Cornwall	Y Wiltshire	10 Deheubarth
D Caithness	O Somerset	Z Glamorgan	11 Kidwelly
E Orkney	P Ross	1 Ceredigion	12 Gwent
F Argyll	Q Dorset	2 Gower	13 Moray
G Western Isles	R Norfolk	3 Leinster	14 Clwyd
H Yorkshire	S Suffolk	4 Connacht	15 Dyfed
I Lothian	T Lincolnshire	5 Gwynedd	
J Ulster	U Northumbria	6 Pembrokeshire	
K Down	V Kent	7 Desmond	

□ Battles

1 Lewes	8 Barnet
2 Evesham	9 Wakefield
3 Dunbar	10 Northampton
4 Stirling	11 Stoke
5 Falkirk	12 Bosworth
6 Neville's Cross	13 Towton
7 St Albans	14 Boroughbridge

Rivers

15 Sevenoaks	1 Solway Firth (bay)
16 Tewkesbury	2 Tees
17 Bannockburn	3 Liddel
18 Faughart	4 Conway
19 Largs	

□ Areas under effective control of the English crown and its subjects at the death of William I, 1087.

□ Additions to this area by 1189

■ Additions to this area by 1290

■ Additions to this area by 1100

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

• Places

1 Aberdeen	6 Bangor	11 Calais
2 London	7 Llandaff	12 Edinburgh
3 Swansea	8 Cambridge	13 Durham
4 Canterbury	9 Oxford	
5 St Asaph	10 Norwich	

Counties

A Cardiganshire	H Bedfordshire	O Antrim
B Durham	I Cornwall	P Down
C Derbyshire	J Kildare	Q Wexford
D Yorkshire	K Flintshire	R Leitrim
E Lincolnshire	L Sligo	S Longford
F Norfolk	M Fermanagh	T Westmeath
G Devon	N Monaghan	

□ Battles

1 Solway Moss	6 Clontibret
2 Flodden	7 Yellow Ford
3 Pinkie	8 Kinsale
4 Ancrum Moor	9 Moyry Pass
5 Dussindale	

Regions (larger than counties)

1 Connacht
2 Munster
3 Ulster

Centres of Rebellion
in England

The Pale c. 1550

Plantations established before 1603

Scottish settlements

Plantations
established 1603-49

THE CIVIL WARS 1638 –1691

• Towns

1 Derby	11 Aberdeen	22 Limerick	32 Bradford
2 London	12 Elgin	23 Ross	33 Llandaff
3 Manchester	13 Dundee	24 Carrick	34 Lyme Regis
4 Nottingham	14 Inverness	25 Clonmel	35 Salisbury
5 Oxford	15 Edinburgh	26 Galway	36 Derry
6 York	16 Glasgow	27 Stirling	37 Belfast
7 Tenby	17 Dublin	28 Perth	38 Cork
8 Haverfordwest	18 Carrickfergus	29 Wigan	39 Kinsale
9 Shrewsbury	19 Kilkenny	30 Warwick	
10 Chester	20 Dundalk	31 Leeds	

□ Battles

A Hopton Heath 1643	J Philiphaugh 1645	R Dunbar 1650
B Edgehill 1642	K Benburb 1646	S Worcester 1651
C Marston Moor 1644	L Julianstown 1641	T Sedgemoor 1685
D Naseby 1645	M Dungan Hill 1647	U Boyne 1690
F Tippermuir 1644	N Baggot-rath 1649	V Aughrim 1691
G Auldearn 1645	O St Fagan's 1648	W Killiecrankie 1689
H Inverlochy 1645	P Preston 1648	
I Alford 1645	Q Scarrifhollis 1650	

○ Besieged Towns

41 Bristol 1643
42 Gloucester 1643
43 Harlech 1647
44 Colchester 1648
45 Pembroke 1648
46 Drogheda 1649
47 Wexford 1649

Areas

A Derbyshire
B Pembrokeshire
C Cardiganshire
D Carmarthenshire
E Ulster
F Isle of Man
G Cumberland

H Yorkshire
I Kent

Places

1 Glencoe
2 Torbay

Areas of Royalist support in England and Wales 1 May 1643

Campaigns

- William of Orange's route in 1688
- Cromwell's route in 1649

BRITAIN OF INDUSTRIALIZATION & REFORM 1750 – 1900

• Places

A London	O Truro	I Troon	Darlington
AA Dublin	P Doncaster	J Tintern	Exeter
B Edinburgh	Q Brighton	K Stockton	Holyhead
BB Wimborne	R Bradford	L Plymouth	Crewe
C Bath	S Scunthorpe	M Forth Bridge	Gateshead
CC Wilton	T Birmingham	N Swindon	Burton-on-Trent
D Grantham	U Sunderland	O Workington	Huddersfield
DD Wolverton	UU Dewsbury	P Bambrugh	Nottingham
E Glasgow	V Dunfermline	Q Merthyr Tydfil	Leicester
EE Sleaford	VV Batley	R Halifax	Leeds
F Bristol	W Newcastle	S Ebbw Vale	Cardiff
G Dumfries	X Carrickfergus	T Spalding	Rhondda
GG Battle	Y Penrith	U Stamford	Brecon
HH Bruton	Z Lincoln	V Gainsborough	Dundee
I Stornoway	A Louth	W Boston	Fort William
J Lancaster	B Liverpool	X Whitehaven	Bolton
JJ Stoneleigh	C Perth	Y Braemar	Devizes
K Shrewsbury	D Carlisle	Inverness	Berwick
KK Aberdovey	E Montrose	Manchester	Cambridge
L Oxford	F Derby	York	Launceston
M Southampton	G Aberdeen	Aberystwyth	
N Norwich	H Carmarthen	Swansea	

Regions

1 Devon	12 Renfrew	23 Montgomeryshire
2 Cornwall	13 Skye	24 Cardiganshire
3 Norfolk	14 Lake District	25 Pembrokeshire
4 Durham	15 Black Country	26 Northamptonshire
5 Essex	16 Sussex	27 Sutherland
6 Strathclyde	17 Selkirk	28 Hampshire
7 Lanarkshire	18 Dumfries	29 Wexford
8 Glamorgan	19 Roxburghshire	30 Ulster
9 Monmouthshire	20 Lancashire	31 Connacht
10 Merioneth	21 East Anglia	32 Leinster
11 Midlothian	22 Orkney Islands	

□ Battles

- 1 Sheriffmuir 1715
- 2 Culloden 1746
- 3 Preston 1716
- 4 Glenshiel 1719
- 5 Prestonpans 1745
- 6 Falkirk 1746
- 7 Vinegar Hill 1798

Major Coalfields

A North-East	D Strathclyde
B South Wales	E Midlands
C Fife	G Nottinghamshire/Yorkshire

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1914

A Australia	I India	Q Nigeria
B New Zealand	J Cyprus	R Gold Coast
C Tasmania	K Sudan	S Sierra Leone
D Malaya	L Egypt	T Gambia
E New Guinea	M Uganda	U Canada
F Kenya	N S. Africa	V Newfoundland
G Ceylon	O N. Rhodesia	W British West Indies
H Burma	P S. Rhodesia	X British Guiana